

Who's To Be  
El Jefe?

# Anti-Castro Forces Are Split

## No Single Cuban Has Emerged To Weld Them Into United Front

By SAM ADKINS

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Miami, Jan. 24.—Political leaders among Cuba's thousands of anti-Castro refugees here are just as unhappy as the military about what they consider the "bungling ineptitude" of the United States Central Intelligence Agency in handing out help to the Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

However, the political situation is infinitely more complicated than the military. So what any one political leader wants the C.I.A. to do is fairly certain to be totally different from what any other political leader wants.

To understand this requires a knowledge of the political situation. To acquire this knowledge is next to impossible, since not a single Cuban knows the entire picture.

### They Are Curious Mixture

No really towering leader has emerged from the welter of parties that have sprung up among the Cuban exiles, and so far there is no candidate for such eminence.

These anti-Castro men are a curious mixture. Among them are brilliant students, learned doctors, outstanding lawyers, former bankers,

### Second of a series.

wealthy cattlemen, wealthier sugar men. And there are out-and-out politicians, demagogues of all shades—and a large number of apparently selfless men (and women) who seem to want only a free and democratic Cuba.

These latter are not the big problem. The real trouble is that the aspirants for fame and power, many of them unqualified and unacceptable to virtually everyone else, all seem to want to be El Jefe, The Chief, The Man, the principal figure in that much-discussed "New Cuba." (It may be a grammatical error to capitalize the "n," but that is how the Cubans say it.)

### Far From Being United

As a result, the refugees and exiles are far indeed from having a united body with which the C.I.A. and State Department can deal politically. The political situation is difficult. There is only one

Liberation Army, and while it technically is aligned with the largest of the many refugee political groups, it maintain a studied aloofness from all of them and operates independently. In several days here at Miami, Coral Gables, and Miami Beach, I have heard the names of 27 refugee political parties, and I know that is well short of the total.

However, since last June, a discernible pattern has been emerging, and it seems likely that within the next few weeks there may be something approaching unity.

As of this moment, the key to the situation is the F.R.D., which means, in English translation, Democratic Revolutionary Front.

### F.R.D. Is Largest

There are other very distinct groupings of parties and "movements," but the F.R.D. is the largest, most active and best-organized outside Cuba.

One leader says the F.R.D. has some 650 active workers in Miami, approximately 10,000 in Cuba, supported by the sympathies of 750,000 persons there.

At the head of the F.R.D. as co-ordinator general is a tough politician named Manuel A. de Varona, about whom more later in this series.

### Varona May Step Aside

However, at the end of the past week the odds were even that "Tony" Varona would have to step aside for another leader in a compromise expansion of the F.R.D.—in the struggle to present some sort of united front to the world.

Since the F.R.D. was formed in Mexico last June 22, its membership has been mercurial as its component parts sought:

- (1.) To have a dominant voice in preparing the program for a post-Castro provisional government for Cuba.
- (2.) To supply leadership for the counterrevolution.

As of the weekend, there



MANUEL A. de VARONA  
Heads Anti-Castro group

were six member parties or movements in the F.R.D.

There is still another "front," also claiming member groups. This is referred to here as a rump front because, say F.R.D. leaders, its founder, Aureliano Sanchez Arrango, pulled out of F.R.D. in a huff when he failed to get himself installed as co-ordinator of the older group.

This isn't so, says Sanchez; he left because he heads the "real" anti-Castro front.

### May Rejoin F.R.D.

Most Cubans are willing to bet that the Sanchez parties will join or rejoin the F.R.D. soon, along with other groups.

There are other potent groups, some of which the F.R.D. would like to welcome as members; others it dislikes but will be forced to accept anyway.

Two groups are said to be actively seeking membership in the front, which is enthusiastic about neither, but will accept both inevitably.

One is the 20th of November Group, made up largely of sugar workers, electrical workers, and other unionists, and headed by David Salvador, Castro's former No. 1 labor leader.

### Headed By Manolo Ray

The second applicant is the People's Recovery Movement, perhaps the largest and most potent party now outside F.R.D., and one of the most active inside Cuba.

This party is headed by Ma-

nolo Ray (pronounced Rye), Fidel Castro's first Minister of Public Works.

Two or more of the F.R.D. party leaders dislike Ray, and yet there seems a possibility that this controversial man may emerge not only as a member of F.R.D. in its new shape but actually has a chance to become its co-ordinator or director, replacing Varona.

Varona is one of those who make no bones about how they feel about Ray and his group.

### Agrees With Fidel

Ray, rightly or wrongly, has been credited among many Cubans and in the U. S. press with having started the first actual underground fighting against Castro. He also is described as a friend of Philip Bonsal, former ambassador to Cuba and now U. S. ambassador to the Organization of American States.

"It is strange," Tony Varona told me, "that sabotage activities started only AFTER Manolo Ray left Cuba."

"The group," he continued, "agrees with Fidel still—the seizures and so on—except for his link with international communism. This is something like a Tito group. We will accept them only if they will agree to accept the program of the Front for the provisional government."

Whatever the terms, the Front will accept the Manolo Ray group—may even succumb to it.

### Were Forced To Flee

Another extremely potent, though technically nonpolitical, force in the anti-Castro fight is the Association for Reconstruction of Cuba. This is an organization of once-wealthy and influential businessmen, cattlemen, sugar planters and millers, and industrialists forced to flee Cuba after seeing their holdings seized.

To make the picture even more confused, perhaps the largest single bloc of Cubans in the south-Florida "Little Cuba" is made up of the 2,000 to 3,000 backers of Batista who fled for their lives when Castro dethroned the former dictator.

But here is one thing which all the anti-Castro groups can agree upon: none of the Batista backers are acceptable. They will not be allowed to return—ever—if the F.R.D. and other such groups have their way.